THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED BIWEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



VOL. XVIII NO. 26 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2 — FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1978 25¢

JONESTOWN: "WE HAVE TASTED TOTAL EQUALITY"



The U.S. government is responsible for the murder of many of these beautiful youth who lived at Jonestown, Guyana.

"...people are so free here and they look so different. People's faces glow with freedom in their eyes. No more drugs, no more racism, no more rapes, no more prisons or jails..."
—Rosie Ruggiero, Jonestown Resident

"Man, the Fillmore has seen the last of me!"
—Charles Wesley, Jonestown resident

"I have lived today in the future."
—Dr. Carlton Goodlett, former president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association

"When I see the seniors happy and productive — when I see the children of every race gathered together to perform a play — I know we are living to the fullest. Life without principle is devoid of meaning. We have tasted life based on total equality and now have no desire to live otherwise."
—Rev. Jim Jones

JIM JONES: "ALL MY THOUGHTS ARE COMING FROM THE C.I.A."

"Every thought in my head is coming through the CIA." — Remark by Rev. Jim Jones to a Scandinavian psychologist visiting Jonestown.

"We're being destroyed from within, but I don't know where it's coming from." — Statement by Jones to *San Francisco Examiner* reporter Tim Reiterman on November 18, 1978.

"We watched Jones as he kept taking pills until he seemed dazed by them." — *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Ron Javers who visited Jonestown on November 18, 1978.

"When you see several hundred people that you've come to know, love and care for, and see the beautiful program they had going destroyed within a matter of minutes, it just doesn't make any sense. I can't put any logic to it." — Peoples Temple attorney Charles Garry on Jonestown tragedy at a San Francisco press conference, November 22, 1978.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Among the drugs found at the Jonestown settlement was chloral hydrate, a hypnotic drug used by the Central Intelligence Agency's notorious "MK-ULTRA" behavior control project.

Thorazine, used by the CIA at the California prisons in Vacaville and San Luis Obispo in an experiment involving behavior "modification" of inmates, was also discovered at Jonestown. Other drugs found were demorol and valium.

Jones is reported to have been highly paranoic in recent months. If he did exhibit such behavior, thorazine, demerol and valium are known to produce feelings of extreme anxiety and fear in human beings.

The scientifically known effects of these two drugs, effects that can seriously alter a human being's personality, and the known existence of the CIA's Project MK-ULTRA have led many people in America to suspect a government plot to destroy Jonestown.

Dr. Lynn Crook, a pathologist, visited the Guyana settlement three days after what one angry San Francisco Black man told THE BLACK PANTHER was the "U.S. government's genocide of Black and poor people." According to Crook, chloral hydrate is an hypnotic drug used in medicine. He said that when swallowed it will quickly drop the consumer into a sleep that lasts about 30 minutes.

The nagging questions persist. Was Jim Jones drugged into a hypnotic trance? Were the over 900 Jonestown victims subjected to a drug that could make them little more than human sheep who would willingly take the poisonous cyanide government authori-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Born in Ku Klux Klan territory in rural Indiana to a poor White father and an American Cherokee Indian mother and the father of several adopted children of various ethnic groups — including a Black son — Jim Jones experienced racism throughout his life.

From the time he opened the first Peoples Temple in Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1956, until his murder, he led the Peoples Temple in establishing community programs that would help to bring about complete racial and economic equality in America.

Appointed director to the Indianapolis Human Rights Commission in 1961, Jones was branded a "radical" and a "rabble rouser" because of his uncompromising opposition to racism and injustice. Several White members left the Temple for this very reason.

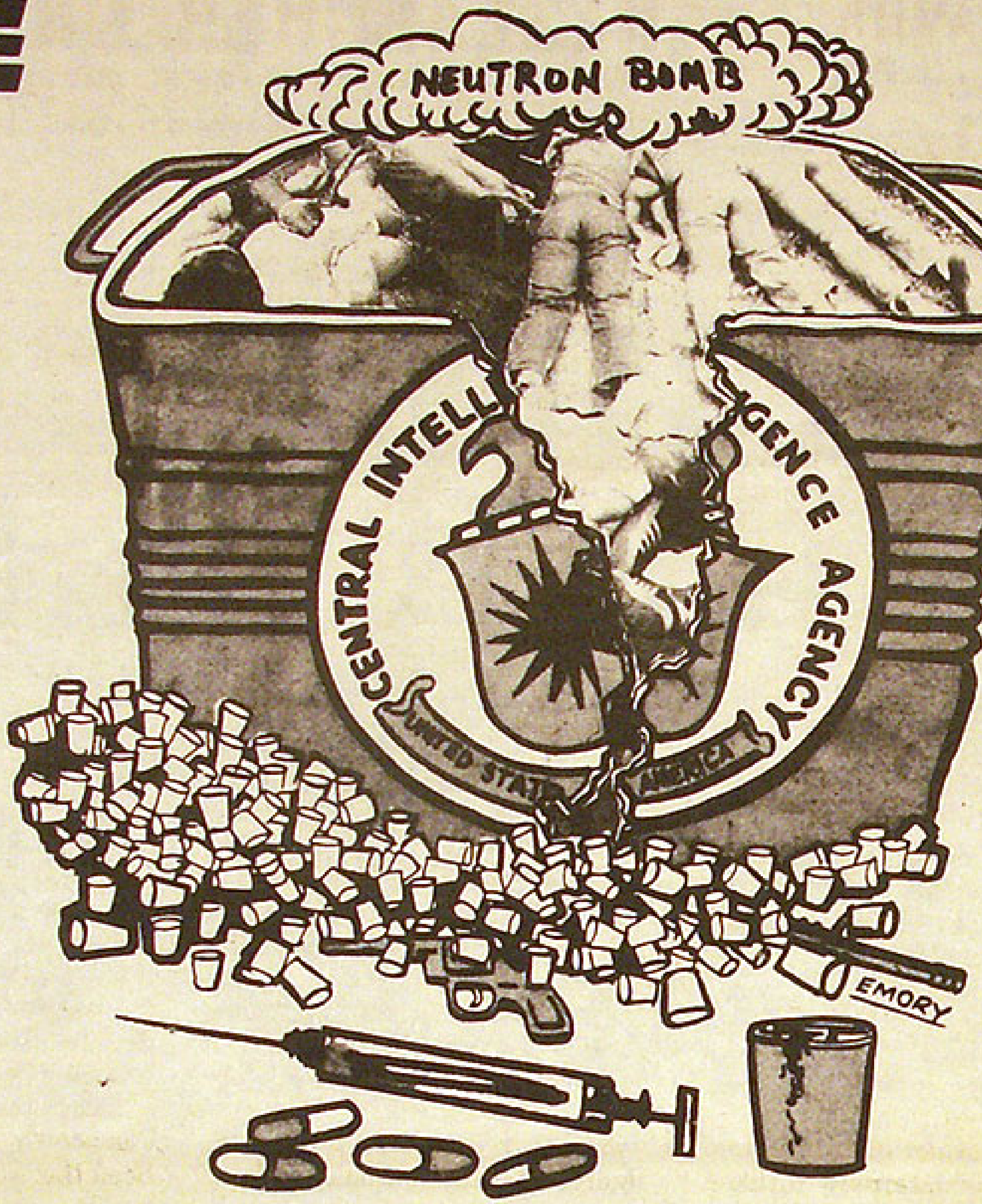
Soon after he became Commission director, for three solid months White racists tossed rocks at his home, called him on

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION
8501 E. 14TH STREET
OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621

Black Panther Party Statement On Jonestown Massacre

WE CHARGE GENOCIDE!



"THOSE WHO DO NOT REMEMBER THE PAST ARE CONDEMNED TO REPEAT IT."

The Black Panther Party charges the United States government, specifically the Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Department of Defense, with the murders of over 900 innocent men, women and children at the Peoples Temple settlement in Jonestown.

The Party demands an immediate citizens' investigation into the Jonestown tragedy. In no way should this investigation be organized or controlled by the American government, which *alone* bears the responsibility for viciously slaughtering a group of Black and poor people who left the oppression of this country to build a society where there would be none.

We must not be tricked by the CIA-created mass hysteria and confusion that is sweeping through the country about the Jonestown massacre. If there were freedom and justice for all in America, there would have been no need for Jonestown in the first place. If Black and poor people could live in peace and dignity in this country, those 900 people who told the world they had found perfect happiness in Jonestown and, under no circumstances, would give it up, would not be in their graves today.

The Black Panther Party does not believe one single word of the "official" explanation of the Guyana massacre. The government has told lie after bold-faced lie about Peoples Temple, Jim Jones and Jonestown.

•The State Department has admitted its "investigation" into Jonestown produced absolutely no evidence that Peoples Temple was a "dangerous" or "violent cult."

•Before he left Jonestown, Leo Ryan told Jim Jones that he liked what he had seen at the settlement and was going to make a favorable report upon returning to America.

Shortly afterwards, Leo Ryan was killed...

•(Ryan was the source of information for a CBS reporter who uncovered a secret CIA operation in Angola in 1975. The CIA does not hesitate to kill those who stand in its way.)

•In October of this year, Peoples Temple held a press conference to announce that it had exposed a government conspiracy to destroy the Temple, Jonestown and Jim Jones. Within 90 days, the Temple said it would file a multimillion dollar lawsuit against the CIA and other government agencies responsible for the plot.

Six weeks later, Jonestown was destroyed...

•Many people who died at Jonestown were Black. Since Black people were brought to this country as slaves in 1619, we have done *whatever* was necessary to survive. It is not in our nature to commit suicide.

•Why, for three days, did the government say there were 400 bodies at Jonestown and then mysteriously, on the fourth day, there were 800? Do they take us for complete fools?

•The bodies of people who die from cyanide poisoning are generally in a twisted and contorted state. This is not at all how the bodies shown by the news media at Jonestown looked. The pictures of the Jonestown victims, in fact, looked almost exactly like those of the people who were murdered at Dachau, Auschwitz and My-lai.

•There were allegedly several dozen bottles of drugs found at Jonestown. Some of these drugs are known to have been used by the CIA for experimentation with mind control of human beings.

•The Jonestown settlement was mysteriously attacked several months ago by a band of armed men, allegedly concerned relatives of Jonestown residents...

The government's explanation is that over 900 people living in a paradise on earth committed mass suicide by drinking grape Kool-Aid "laced with cyanide." Because this is the story being promoted by the government, we must assume it is a lie.

It is quite possible that the neutron bomb was used at Jonestown. The neutron bomb contains radioactive molecules, which, when released into the atmosphere, kill human beings — but do not destroy property.

Mass genocide, not mass suicide, took place at Jonestown. Peoples Temple is a socialist organization that sent over 1,000 people to a socialis. Latin American country to build a new society. Jonestown had to be wiped out. It was too much of a success, too much of an embarrassment to the American government.

All of us have a responsibility to the families who lost loved ones at Jonestown and to the remaining members of Peoples Temple who must carry on their work in the face of relentless government attacks. We must demand that the truth about Jonestown be told *now*, not in 15 or 20 years by some Senate "intelligence committee."

Jonestown is not an isolated incident that took place in a faraway country. The dead were our mothers, our fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers, our brothers and sisters, our children.

We must not allow this government to get away with the genocide at Jonestown. Tomorrow it could be Hunters Point, East Oakland, Watts or Harlem.□

Learn more about what really happened at **JONESTOWN**
Call the Northwest Assassination Research Committee, (415) 567-1651
or Black Panther Party Central Headquarters (415) 638-0195

Write your opinions to
THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621

The Black Panther
PUBLISHED BIWEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621, TELEPHONE: (415) 638-0195.
YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $6.50
SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Right-Wing Gains With Murders Of S.F. Mayor, Gay Supervisor

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The November 27 assassinations of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk have left this city without two of its most progressive politicians. Both men enjoyed popular support from the Black, poor and gay communities of San Francisco. It was this support that was instrumental in putting the two city officials in office, Moscone in 1975 and Milk in 1977.

Acting Mayor Dianne Feinstein, president of the city's Board of Supervisors, is widely expected to become Moscone's successor. Feinstein is a conservative, and Black, poor and gay people here fear that she will place other conservatives in the vacant seat of Milk, of former Supervisor Dan White — the accused assassin of Moscone — — and herself, if she is appointed to serve Moscone's remaining term.

White, a former policeman and fireman, was intensely disliked by many supporters of Moscone and Milk because of his anti-poor people, anti-gay and "law and order" views. When White abruptly resigned from his District 8 supervisorial post in November, allegedly because the job did not pay enough — many people urged Moscone to appoint a replacement that would be more sympathetic to the needs of minority and working class people.

When White suddenly changed his mind and said he wanted his seat back (his brothers and sisters, White said, had agreed to supplement his $9,600 a year supervisor's salary), Moscone at first agreed. But county Attorney Joseph Freitas ruled that it would be illegal for White to reclaim his seat.

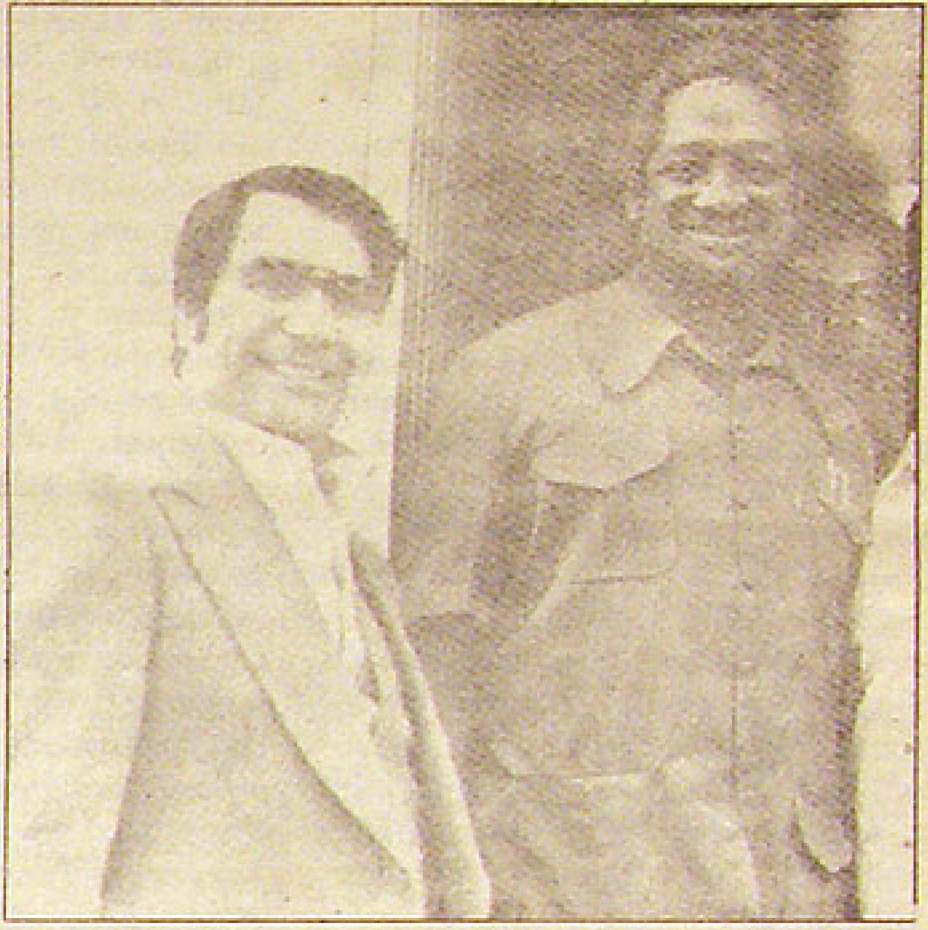
Feinstein supported White's reappointment. In fact, minutes before White entered Moscone's city hall office and shot him to death, Feinstein told White she wanted to speak with him. The ex-supervisor, however, apparently bent on killing the mayor, told her, "not now."

San Francisco Chronicle columnist Walter Hinckle reports that Milk told him in a recent interview that he had urged Moscone not to reappoint White because the ex-supervisor's openly anti-gay attitudes had

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

U.S. MEDIA AIDS COVERUP OF JONESTOWN MASSACRE

RESEARCHER CHARGES NEWS REPORTERS IN GUYANA C.I.A. AGENTS



Peoples Temple founder and leader Rev. JIM JONES (left) with Guyana Prime Minister FORBES BURNHAM.

(Chicago, Ill.) - Sherman Skolnick, head of the Chicago-based Citizens Committee To Clean Up the Country, told THE BLACK PANTHER late last month that he had "liberated" CIA files showing that some correspondents of *United Press International* in Guyana are CIA agents.

Skolnick, whose 15-year-old group has exposed many corrupt politicians in Chicago, was the first researcher to expose the agency's MK-ULTRA program involving experiments with mind control drugs.

Skolnick noted that a vast majority of the articles concerning the Jonestown tragedy that have appeared in the U.S. press were written by *UPI* reporters. He said the documents he has give the names and addresses of the undercover CIA agents in Guyana. He indicated that the Agency has used the *UPI* as a means of discrediting Rev. Jim Jones and the Jonestown settlement.

Some of the most prominent figures in U.S. journalism have been exposed for conspiring with the CIA by award-winning investigative reporter Carl Bernstein.

Bernstein, co-author with Bob Woodward of the best-selling books on the Watergate cover-up conspiracy, *All The President's Men* and *The Final Days* — said in a copyrighted story last year in *Rolling Stone* magazine that at least 25 U.S. news organizations provided "covers" for CIA employees disguised as journalists abroad.

Bernstein, a reporter for the *Washington Post*, charged, "Journalists provided a full range of clandestine services — from simple intelligence collection to serving as go-betweens with spies in communist countries."

News publications and agencies cited by Bernstein are ABC, NBC, *United Press International (UPI)*, *Associated Press (A.P.)* *Newsweek*, Mutual Broadcastng, the *Miami Herald* and the now defunct *Saturday Evening Post* and *New York Herald-Tribune*.

Since the mass murders at Jonestown, Peoples Temple has been the subject of a nationwide media campaign calculated to discredit and destroy the organization and prevent further investigation into the highly suspicious circumstances surrounding the deaths of over 900 Temple members.

INDICATION

One indication of a U.S. establishment press conspiracy against Peoples Temple is the upcoming publication of a book on the Jonestown slaughter. Three days after the tragedy occurred, Dell Book Publishers announced it would have a book on sale about Jonestown on December 2 — only two weeks after the Guyana mass deaths.

How could a book be written in two weeks on Jonestown?

The media blitz against Peoples Temple is clearly meant to complete the total destruction of the group by (1) giving the U.S. government grounds to confiscate all remaining Temple properties and assets; (2) causing members to be arrested and tried on trumped-up charges; and (3) isolating remaining Temple members and crushing their spirit.

In his autobiography, *Revolutionary Suicide*, Huey P. Newton states, "Power is the ability to define phonomena and make it act in a desired manner." In the past year, the U.S. establishment press has used its power to persuade the American public into believing that Peoples Temple is a lunatic religious cult.

Following the November 18 killings of Bay Area Congressman Leo Ryan, NBC reporter and cameraman, Don Harris and Bob Brown, respectively, *San Francisco Examiner* photographer Greg Robinson and Temple member Patricia Parks, the press failed to report on an important statement Ryan made to Jones.

One of the reasons Ryan went to Guyana was to investigate

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

Fallen Comrades



MARK CLARK FRED HAMPTON



Assassinated: December 4, 1969

"You can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution."

FRED HAMPTON

GUYANA: LATIN AMERICAN SOCIALIST STATE WELCOMED PEOPLES TEMPLE



Map of Guyana. Numerous high-ranking officials of the socialist government have praised Jonestown as "the purest egalitarian society we have ever seen."

(Georgetown, Guyana) - "Jonestown is the purest egalitarian society I have ever seen."

The above statement, made by Dr. Peter Fernandes, chairman of the Guyana Livestock Corporation, reflects the general attitude of the Guyanese people toward the Peoples Temple settlement in Jonestown. Carl Blackman, general manager of the *Guyana Chronicle*, the largest newspaper in the multiracial South American country, said of Jonestown before its destruction on November 18, 1978: "It is an example for Guyana."

Dr. Ng-a-Fook, Guyana dental surgeon, wrote an editorial comment in a December, 1977, issue of the *Chronicle* following a three-day visit to Jonestown. He said of the Peoples Temple settlement:

"I have never before seen so many people of varying races working happily side-by-side in the fields without a single spark of friction."

A high-ranking Guyanese government official noted: "Jonestown is a living example to the people of Guyana, a living example to be followed."

A socialist country closely allied with the People's Republic of Cuba, Guyana provided an ideal location for the Peoples Temple settlement. The former British colony and the American group share a common belief in principles of socialism.

In addition, numerous ethnic and racial groups live together in peace in Guyana. Peoples Temple, whose members include Black, American Indian, Chinese, Chicano, Filipino and White people, felt comfortable living in the country.

The Amerindians who live in the rural area near where Jonestown once stood looked upon the California group as friends. Jonestown residents provided free health care to the Amerindians at the agricultural project's medical center and taught young children of the Guyanese ethnic group at the settlement's advanced school system.

The *Guyana Chronicle* noted the increasing attacks against Jim Jones and Jonestown:

"Jones has come under fire from reactionary forces in the USA, who see the prosperous agricultural project and the communal life enjoyed by its members there, as a threat to the old established order."

The stepped up attacks made against Jonestown in the last year are believed by those knowledgeable of Latin American affairs to be linked with the U.S. government's efforts to undermine the progressive Guyanese government — efforts led by the CIA.

Chicago researcher Sherman Skolnick has obtained CIA documents indicating that a high-ranking official at the U.S. embassy in Guyana — who escaped injury on November 18 at the Kaituma airstrip where Congressman Leo Ryan and four others were killed — is a top CIA agent in Guyana.

Meanwhile, in its past-independence years — since 1966 when Guyana won a protracted struggle against British colonial rule — the South American country has strived to eliminate colonial and imperialist economic control.

Peoples Temple chose to move over 1,000 of its members to Guyana because it is an avowed socialist country. There are reports from survivors of the Jonestown tragedy that in recent months after Jones and the Temple came under attack from U.S. media and government officials, Jones had considered moving the settlement to the Soviet Union.

One survivor said that two Soviet consular officials made at least two visits to Jonestown and that aides of Jones visited the Soviet embassy in Georgetown, capital city of Guyana.

If these reports are true, such a move would have been highly embarrassing to the U.S. government, even more so than the Temple's move to Guyana. The Soviet Union and America are rivals for world power, and the moving of a large group of Americans to Russia in search of a better life would have been a severe indictment of U.S. society.

The English-speaking population of nearly one million is mostly Black and East Indian, in addition to native Amerindians, along with Chinese and Portuguese inhabitants.

About two years ago, the country's economic lifeline was under the control of U.S. and other Western multinational corporations. The single product economic system imposed by these companies geared the economy to the production of only bauxite, sugar and rice, bringing about a lopsided development of the national economy, an historically common trend of underdeveloped Third World economies.

Since about 1976, the government and people intensified a struggle to diversify the economy, initiating a project to promote maize and soybean production.

In mid-1976, Guyana signed an agreement with the U.S.-owned West Indies Oil Company (WIOC) whereby the latter's assets in the country were nationalized. WIOC, a subsidiary of the multinational Naitomas Corporation of San Francisco, has set up numerous branches in the Caribbean and for years reaped huge profits by dumping oil in Guyana.

Guyana has recently nationalized all foreign businesses.

Tension between the U.S. and Cuba threatened to engulf the entire Caribbean as a result of the October, 1976, bombing of a Cuban jet by anti-Castro exiles.

The spread of socialist governments in the Caribbean and the rise of Cuban prestige — now rivaling U.S. influence — are increasingly worrying U.S. business and political leaders. Dubbing the region the "Red Sea," conservative congressmen have begun to warn about possible losses of mammoth U.S investments there through nationalization.

With the terrorist sabotage and its aftermath front-page news throughout the Caribbean countries literally chose up sides between Cuba and the U.S.

Guyana joined the region's only other strictly socialist state, Cuba, in accusing the U.S. of responsibility for the terrorists. The U.S. State Department withdrew its charges d'affaires from the U.S. embassy in Guyana, objecting to what a spokesman labeled "boldfaced lies" by Guyana's prime minister about U.S. involvement in the plot.

Conflicts between various Caribbean nations erupted at how the terrorists would be prosecuted. When Barbados invited the U.S. to send a representative to the judicial inquiries into the bombing, for example, Cuba immediately objected on the grounds that "the CIA and the U.S. government are the intellectual authors of this crime."

Guyana, which lost 11 citizens in the tragedy, refused to attend any of the meetings.

At stake in the diplomatic battle for leadership of the Caribbean are more than $6 billion in American investments and one of the highest concentrations of U.S military installations in the world.

Cuba, which nationalized extensive U.S. holdings and replaced most private enterprise with state ownership and planning, is the only nation in the Caribbean that has managed to feed, house and employ all of its people.

In a region of intense poverty and routine 30 per cent unemployment, that accomplishment has helped it gain high stature and break through the U.S-imposed diplomatic and economic embargo.☐

Mozambique Nationalizes Movies

(Maputo, Mozambique) - The Mozambique government recently nationalized the country's film industry, *Noticias* newspaper reported that a state commission, the National Institute of Cinema, will regulate the film industry due to repeated acts of sabotage.

The F.B.I. Plot Against Black Leaders

Beginning in 1967, the FBI launched a systematic campaign to spy on, harass, discredit and murder Black American leaders, among them Huey P. Newton, Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

The following article, excerpted from a longer piece written by Iris L. Washington for the October, 1978, issue of Essence *magazine, details this vicious FBI conspiracy. As the editors of* Essence *warn: "It would be suicidal for us as a people to believe that all is over and done with...Our history reveals that even nonviolent dissent provokes quick countermoves and attacks from those in power."*

Peoples Temple has long been an outspoken critic of the injustices suffered by Black and poor people in this country, dissent that many people in the entire country believe led to the destruction of Jonestown.

PART 1

At the height of the civil rights and Black power movements of the sixties the Federal Bureau of Investigation instituted a Counterintelligence Program aimed at destroying the effectiveness of Black leaders and organizations that they termed "Black nationalist-hate groups."

The Bureau was reacting to what it believed were threats to national security. Fearful after one of the hottest summers of racial disturbances in United States history, the Bureau ordered, on August 25, 1967, immediate and coordinated use of counterintelligence tactics against key Black leaders and groups.

The objectives of the plot against Black leadership were spelled out in the August memo from late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and in a subsequent one dated February 29, 1968: "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize such groups and their leadership, spokesmen, members and supporters: counter their propensity for violence; frustrate efforts to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents; exploit conflicts within and between groups; *use news media contacts to ridicule and otherwise discredit groups*; prevent groups from spreading their philosophy publicly; and gather information

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

DR. NATHAN HARE BLASTS MEDIA ATTACKS ON POOR PEOPLE'S GROUPS

"AMERICAN RACISM CREATED PEOPLES TEMPLE"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Blasting the hysteria that has been promoted by the U.S. establishment press in the aftermath of the Jonestown tragedy regarding the "terror" of so-called religious "cults," a well known Black psychologist here has charged, "If this were not a racist society, there would not have been a need for Jim Jones."

Dr. Nathan Hare, former professor of sociology at San Francisco State University and a practicing clinical psychologist, told THE BLACK PANTHER that such organizations as Peoples Temple and the Synanon Foundation, the highly respected drug and alcohol rehabilitation center, are not cults but are organizations like the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement (AIM) that are fighting against racism and oppression in America.

"These groups," Dr. Hare explained, "usually grow up among Black people, the poor and oppressed and alienated youth."

The American media has characterized Peoples Temple and Synanon as cults, which are traditionally considred religious groups that have broken away from the institutionalized church. (Dr. Hare pointed out that Christianity was considered a cult until it was institutionalized.)

SYNANON

Neither the Temple nor Synanon, however, are religious groups. The Temple was started under the framework of the Disciples of Christ Church, but as a socialist organization has worked primarily to improve conditions for Black and poor people — to create "heaven here on earth," in the words of one Temple member.

Marceline Jones, wife of Jim Jones, once told an interviewer that her husband's goal was to "to take the opiate out of religion."

Dr. Hare, who knows many Temple members in San Francisco ("They pick me up and give me a ride if they see me on the street"), said that he held a three-hour meeting with Jones and Temple members before they moved to Guyana in 1976 and built Jonestown.

"Jones spoke eloquently and with compassion," Hare said of the meeting. "His themes were freedom and interracial harmony. He had his own style of socialism. Capitalists would be brought to the table. They would be persuaded to share their riches," Hare said.



Recent demonstration by supporters of Synanon to protest vicious attacks by the media, which has falsely portrayed the drug rehabilitation group as a "fanatic cult."

The people of the predominantly Black and poor Fillmore district where the San Francisco headquarters of Peoples Temple is located support Hare's contention that organizations like the Temple form to struggle against oppression. One Black man angrily told a *San Francisco Examiner* reporter, "If you lived around here and never had anything, and somebody said they'd take care of you, don't you think you'd join too?"

An example of the inflammatory news coverage on cults appeared in an *Oakland Tribune* article headlined "Potential Terror Lurks in Many Cults," comparing Jones to Adolf Hitler and convicted mass murder Charles Manson. "Jim Jones had the answers for hundreds of people," the *Tribune* said. "They gave him their will power. He gave them love, a sense of self-esteem, a mission in life. Hitler practiced the same magic. So did Charles Manson."

The December 4 issue of *Newsweek* magazine classifies Peoples Temple, Synanon, Hare Krishna, the Children of God and the Unification Church (Moonies) as cults. The latter three are religious groups and have no community service programs such as the Temple and Synanon. The Moonies, whose leader is SouthKorean evangelist Sun Myung Moon, are fiercely patriotic.

Three days after the shooting deaths of Congressman Leo Ryan and four others on an airstrip near Jonestown, a Synanon ranch in southern California was raided by two dozen Los Angeles County deputy sheriffs who were allegedly searching for a "sizable number" of tape recordings in connection with an October incident involving former Synanon attorney Paul Morantz.

Morantz was bitten by a rattlesnake allegedly put in his mailbox by two Synanon members unhappy over a case the attorney had won against the organization. As a result of the incident, the California attorney general's office is now investigating Synanon.

On December 3, Synanon founder and leader Charles Diedrich was arrested in Los Angeles for the attempted murder of Morantz.

The subject of vicious media attacks over the last six or seven years, Synanon was described in an *Examiner* article written after the Jonestown tragedy as doing "paramilitary work." The drug rehabilitation group, which has multimillion dollar lawsuits pending against *Time* magazine and KGO-TV, recently demanded that the *Examiner* print a correction concerning a *United Press International* story it ran concerning Synanon.

In their statement, which was printed in the *Examiner*, Synanon said, in part:

Synanon is a ... charitable, tax-exempt organization which has helped thousands of drug addicts, alcoholics, juvenile delinquents and character-disordered persons who have come to it for help...

"Synanon does not advocate, condone or participate in the beating, injuring, killing or kidnapping of anyone, and no Synanon official has ever ordered such activities."□

OFFICIALS ELECTED WITH SUPPORT FROM S.F. GROUP

POLITICIANS DENY TIES TO PEOPLES TEMPLE, JONESTOWN



Peoples Temple members consistently attended the recent trumped-up assault trial of Huey P. Newton.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Many San Francisco and other California elected officials and public figures are now denying any involvement with Jim Jones and Peoples Temple despite well documented evidence of the Temple's support of these officials.

Some politicians, the majority of them Democrats whom Peoples Temple helped put in office by campaigning and voter registration, have even gone so far as to denounce the organization.

Preceding the Jonestown tragedy, Peoples Temple had sone 20,000 members throughout California, making it the largest Protestant church affiliated group in the state — a group any politician would want to be allied with. In the words of the *San Francisco Chronicle:*

"Jones has been a potent political force in San Francisco, courted by top officeholders for the help his loyal following could bring to an election campaign."

Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., attended a memorial at the Temple headquarters here for slain civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King in 1977. Brown's press secretary has attempted to downplay the importance of the governor's attendance at the service by pointing out that other noted political figures were also present, including a representative of President Carter.

The *Los Angeles Times* reports that Brown once considered Jones for an appointment to the state Board of Corrections but the Temple leader, according to a Brown aide, "did not make himself available to be interviewed and the process went no further."

Outgoing Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally has also tried to minimize his well known association with the Temple. Admitting that he visited Jonestown in 1976, he tried to brush off the importance of the trip. "My visit lasted less than a working day and included lunch. The project was just beginning and showed signs of hope."

When Jones and the Temple began to come under media attack, Dymally wrote a letter of support that was published in the *Sun Reporter*, a Black newspaper published by Dr. Carlton Goodlett, Jones' personal physician at the time of his death.

The letter said in part, "Not surprisingly the metropolitan media have singled out Peoples Temple for scrutiny and criticism. This unusual attack on the church is the cause of great concern and anguish among the friends of Peoples Temple.

"However, I am pleased to report that those of us who have looked at the great work of Rev. Jim Jones will continue to have strength in our commitment to him," Dymally said.

Peoples Temple campaign work was instrumental in obtaining the 1975 elections of recently assassinated San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, San Francisco County District Attorney Joseph Freitas and former Sheriff Richard Hongisto.

Moscone visited the Temple numerous times and addressed members on at least one occasion. In 1976, the late mayor appointed Jones to the San Francisco Housing Authority, of which Jones later became director with the unanimous approval of the Board of Supervisors.

Moscone said he appointed Jones because he considered him to be "a peacemaker...who had the ability to work with people." The late mayor said the Housing Authority needed "a person both sensitive and realistic. From everything I've seen, he (Jones) is a good chairman."

The murdered mayor was one of few public officials who did not attack the Temple following the Jonestown murders.

Shortly after his election, three years ago, Freitas appointed Timothy Stoen as his deputy district attorney to be in charge of a massive voter fraud scandal. Stoen, a former assistant prosecutor from Mendocino County, was then a leading member of the Temple and an aide to Jones.

Freitas claims Jones did not give him any political support in 1975 and that he never heard of the Peoples Temple founder until after he (Freitas) was elected.

"I visited the Temple a couple of times," the district attorney said, "and once had dinner with the mayor (Moscone), Gov. Brown, Dymally and lots of city commissioners...It (Temple) was an activist church and Jim Jones seemed a pretty O.K. fellow."

Black State Assemblyman Willie Brown was scheduled to serve as master of ceremonies at a December 2 benefit dinner for the Jonestown project. When he first learned of the Guyana tragedy, Brown said he would not attend the dinner.

The San Francisco legislator, however, said that he had "no regrets" about supporting Jones in the past because the Temple helped poor people attend college, and helped those in trouble with the law.

President Carter's wife Rosalynn made a visit to San Francisco during the 1976 Presidential campaign. During that trip, she was cheered by a large contingent of Peoples Temple members at the opening of the San Francisco Unified Democratic Headquarters.

Although Mrs. Carter was photographed standing next to Jones at the campaign affair, she at first denied any knowlege of him until a 1977 letter she wrote in response to one from Jones was revealed.

Jones' personal physician, Dr. Carlton Goodlett, is among a far too small number of Bay Area community leaders who have stood by Peoples Temple. "Until Jim Jones is proven to be something other than an honest, lawabiding citizen," Goodlett said, "I'll have to reserve judgment. If he had done anything for which he could have been incarcerated, you and I know he would have been incarcerated long ago." □

New King Murder Coverup: Ray Brothers Did It

(Washington, D.C. - In an effort to squash any further investigation into the widespread belief that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was murdered at the direction of high level U.S. officials, the House Assassinations Committee is now claiming that the assassination may have been carried out by James Earl Ray's family.

G. Robert Blakey, chief counsel for the Committee — which is expected to end its two-year investigations into the deaths of Dr. King and President John F. Kennedy in December — charged the FBI with conducting an insufficient probe of the civil rights leader's murder.

Blakey maintained the Bureau failed to check out a possible conspiracy to kill King by Ray and his two brothers. There was evidence at the time of the April 4, 1968, assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, that the man called "Raoul" whom Ray blamed for the murder may have been one of the convicted assassin's brothers, Blakey said.

"Candor requires the comment that the evidence indicates that the performance of the FBI, as well as the Justice Department, was flawed," the House Committee lawyers said.

Ray, who is now serving a 99-year sentence in Tennessee's Brushy Mountain State Prison for the killing, insists that he did not kill the civil rights leader and that he is the victim of a frame-up.

He was arrested by U.S. authorities in England in June, 1968. Up until then, Blakey said, the FBI had investigated the possibility of a conspiracy. However, Blakey continued, once Ray was in custody, the Bureau's probe decreased significantly, with infrequent attempts to find out if anyone else other than Ray was involved.

Blakey blamed a "bitter feud" between former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Jr. and late FBI Director J.Edgar Hoover for the inadequate investigation of Dr. King's murder.

In testimony before the Committee, Clark admitted that he purposefully did not allow the Justice Department, which he headed at the time, to become involved in the FBI probe because of strained relations with Hoover. □

"WE HAVE TASTED TOTAL EQUALITY"

CONTINUED FROM COVER

the phone demanding, "Nigger lover, get out of town," threw explosives in his yard and even went so far as to write anti-Black statements to prominent civil rights workers and attribute them to Jones by signing his name.

In 1962, he, his wife Marceline and their children moved to Brazil where Jones did missionary work.

When Jones arrived in Redwood Valley, a hamlet near Ukiah in Mendocino County in northern California in 1967, he brought with him some 100 members of the Indianapolis Peoples Temple. The Temple operated four nursing homes for senior citizens in Ukiah.

After the Jonestown massacre, local authorities closed the homes down.

The Temple also opened up facilities in the Fillmore district of San Francisco and Los Angeles.It has regularly served 1,400 free meals daily at the San Francisco branch.

For several years, the San Francisco Temple has maintained a clinic in which nearly 100 persons are seen daily by qualified nurses for general checkups or in special clinics, such as for Sickle Cell Anemia or pap smears. Referrals are made to local doctors for more difficult cases.



Happy senior citizens at Jonestown.

In addition, in San Francisco there is a physical therapy facility for seniors and physically disabled people, a drug rehabilitation program that has helped 300 ex-drug addicts kick the habit and a legal aid program.

"I am in this battle, and I may be shot or put in jail," Jones once of his work. "The way I keep myself straight is to live here in the Fillmore. I am at war with this system."

Peoples Temple has had as many as 20,000 members. One reason for the popularity of the organization was explained by Jones.

"One of the challenges of this church is that there are no barriers between young and old. The typical thing you see in a church is a gap between age. You don't see that in our church. Neither do you see a gap between race or creed."

Always an activist group, Peoples Temple has spoken out on serious social and political issues.

In September, 1976, 10 busloads of Temple members from San Francisco picketed for a weekend at the Fresno County (California) Courthouse to protest the jailing of four newsmen on contempt of court charges for failing to reveal how they gained access to secret grand jury testimony in an investigation of local corruption.



Young people at Jonestown learned many new skills.

In 1975, several dozen Temple members went to a jungle region in Guyana and cleared the 27,000 acres that came to be known as Jonestown. As the settlement began to grow its own food supply, some 170 crops, and build living facilities, dozens of Temple members left their homes to move to Guyana.

The Jonestown community school, built for the large numbers of children who lived at the settlement, was given official status by the government of Guyana in the summer of 1978. The school, which the Guyana government considered far superior to American public schools, had 275 students from

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

"ALL MY THOUGHTS ARE COMING FROM THE C.I.A."

CONTINUED FROM COVER

ties said were responsible for the majority of the deaths?

According to Dr. Nathan Hare, well known Black clinical psychologist and former professor of sociology at San Francisco State University, the drugs found at Jonestown would cause a person to "trip out." "These drugs play on your character's weakest links" and make an individual do things he or she wouldn't do in a normal state of mind.

INTERVIEW

In a telephone interview with THE BLACK PANTHER Sherman Skolnick, head of the Chicago-based Citizens Committee To Clean Up The Country, an influential research group which initially exposed the CIA's Project MK-ULTRA, said there is the strong possibility that Rev. Jones' behavior was altered by mind control drugs that are used to "terminate" people by getting them to kill themselves.

Skolnick said he has talked to scientists who worked on MK-ULTRA — which originated in southern California — and they told him the CIA has perfected drugs enabling entire populations to be mentally disabled through the contamination of their water supply.

It was Skolnick's Citizens Committee revelations on MK-ULTRA that forced the CIA to admit the existence of the mind control project and subsequently reveal previously secret documents on the dangerous program.

During a 1975 Senate inquiry, the CIA claimed that most of the documentation on MK-ULTRA had been destroyed. Last year, CIA Director Admiral Stansfield Turner alleged that the documents were found in "retired archives, filed under financial accounts" and came to light only through "extraordinary and extensive search efforts."

Among the documents released was a list of 146 drugs tested by the CIA. Agency memos urged that behavior control research be conducted by forcing human guinea pigs to become addicted to the drugs.

Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *San Francisco Sun Reporter* and the personal physician of Jones, visited Jonestown this past August. Dr. Goodlett said the Peoples Temple leader was dying of a brain tumor.

Temple attorney Charles Garry said Goodlett told him the disease was "literally burning Jones' brain."

Hare firmly believes that Jonestown was destroyed by the U.S. government because Peoples Temple is a socialist organization working to improve conditions for Black and poor people.

According to Hare, an FBI, CIA or other government agency could have "infiltrated" Jonestown and persuaded Jones, who was seriously ill, to take some of the drugs U.S. officials said were found.

The Black psychologist elaborated and said that Jonestown's location in far away Guyana provided the perfect opportunity for sabotage. "The (U.S.) authorities could get them (Peoples Temple members) off in one group and annihilate them at one time," Hare said.

A Temple attorney charged at an October press conference at the Temple's San Francisco headquarters that the FBI, CIA and other U.S. police agencies had made "deliberate efforts" to destroy Jim Jones and the Jonestown settlement.

He announced a multimillion dollar lawsuit that he said the Temple would file within 90 days against the U.S. Treasury Department, the Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Post Office, Federal Communications Commission, FBI, and CIA.

A CIA memo published in recent years revealed that the Agency had sponsored secret drug-related research at a number of U.S prisons, including the Vacaville Medical Facility, between 1953 and 1973.

The CIA's interest, according

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

ON WITHDRAWAL

By George Lester Jackson

Black and poor people have always resisted their oppression in America. Throughout the centuries we have lived enslaved in this country, we have learned a difficult lesson: we must stand together as a unified force in our life-and-death struggle for freedom and equality. Peoples Temple, like the Black Panther Party, is one of many poor people's organizations that has grown up in the central cities of America to fight the inhumane conditions suffered by Black, Native American, Chicano, and other minority and poor White people.

Fallen Comrade George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party who was murdered by FBI and California law enforcement officials at San Quentin Prison on August 21, 1971, in the following essay describes how the rise of repression against Black and poor people produced the central city commune, "...a new social, political and economic program [to] feed and comfort all the people on at least a subsistence level, and force the 'owners' of the enemy bourgeois culture either to tie their whole fortunes to the communes and the people, or to leave the land, the tools and the market behind."

SYLLOGISM, *n.* argument with two premises and a conclusion; a logical scheme of a formal argument consisting of a major and minor premise and a conclusion which must logically be true if the premises are true.

—Merriam-Webster

After revolution has failed, all questions must center on *how* a new revolutionary consciousness can be mobilized around the new set of class antagonisms that have been created by the authoritarian reign of terror. At which level of social, political and economic life should we begin our new attack?

First, we the Black partisans and their vanguard party, the old and new left alike, must concede that the worker's revolution and its vanguard parties have failed to deliver the promised changes in property relations or any of the institutions that support them. This must be conceded without bitterness, name-calling, or the intense rancor that is presently building.

There have been two depressions, two great wars, a dozen serious recessions, a dozen brush wars, crisis after economic crisis. The mass psycho-social national cohesiveness has trembled on the brink of disruption and disintegration repeatedly over the last 50 years, threatening to fly apart from its own concentric inner dynamics.

But at each crisis it was allowed to reform itself; with each reform, revolution became more remote. This is because the old left has failed to understand the true nature of fascism.

We will never have a complete definition of fascism, because it is in constant motion, showing a new face to fit any particular set of problems that arise to threaten the predominance of the traditionalist, capitalist ruling class.

But if one were forced for the sake of clarity to define it in a word simple enough for all to understand, that word would be "reform." We can make our definition more precise by adding the word "economic." "Economic reform" comes very close to a working definition of fascist motive forces.



BPP Field Marshal GEORGE JACKSON.

Such a definition may serve to clarify things even though it leaves a great deal unexplained. Each economic reform that perpetuates ruling-class hegemony has to be disguised as a positive gain for the upthrusting masses. Disguise enters as a third stage of the emergence and development of the fascist state. The modern industrial fascist state has found it essential to disguise the opulence of its ruling-class leisure existence by providing the lower classes with a mass consumer's flea market of its own.

To allow a sizable portion of the "new state" to participate in this flea market, the ruling class has established currency controls and minimum wage laws that mask the true nature of modern fascism. Reform (the closed economy) is only a new way for capitalism to protect and develop fascism !

After the German S.S. agents or Italian Black Shirts kick in the doors and herd Jews and Communist partisans to death camps, after Peg-Leg White's Black Legion terror and the Guardians of the Republic and their offspring legitimize the FBI, in other words, after the fascists have succeeded in crushing the vanguard elements and the threat they pose is removed, the ruling class goes on about the business of making profits as usual.

The significance of the "new fascist arrangement" lies in the fact that this business as-usual is accompanied by concessions to the degenerate segment of the working class, with the aim of creating a buffer zone between the ruling class and the still potentially revolutionary segments of the lower classes.

Corporative ideals have reached their logical conclusion in the U.S. The new corporate state has fought its way through crisis after crisis, established its ruling elites in every important institution, formed its partnership with labor through its elites, *erected the most massive network of protective agencies replete with spies, technical and animal, to be found in any police state in the world.*

The violence of the ruling class of this country in the long process of its trend toward authoritarianism and its last and highest state, fascism, cannot be rivaled in its excesses by any other nation on earth today or in history.

With each advancement in the authoritarian process and strengthening of the ruling class's control over the system, there was a corresponding weakening of the people's and workers' movement.

And intellectuals still argue whether America is a fascist country. This concern is typical of the American left's flight from reality, from any truly extreme position. This is actually a manifestation of the authoritarian process seeping into its own psyche.

At this state, how can anyone question the existence of a fascist arrangement? Just consider the awesome centralization of power, and the proven fact that the largest part of the Gross National Product is in the hands of a minute portion of the population.

Of course, the revolution has failed. Fascism has temporarily succeeded under the guise of reform. The only way we can destroy it is to refuse to compromise with the enemy state and its ruling class. Compromises were made in the thirties, the forties, the fifties. The old vanguard parties made gross strategic and tactical errors. At the existential moment, the last revelation about oneself, not many members of the old vanguard choose to risk their whole futures, their lives, in order to alter the conditions that Huey P. Newton describes as "destructive of life."

Reformism was allowed. The more degenerate elements of the working class were the first to succumb. The vanguard parties supported the capitalistic war adventure in World War II. Then they helped to promote the mass consumers' market that followed the close of the war, the flea market that muted the workers' more genuine demands.

Today we are faced with a clearly different set of class antagonisms, the complexities of a particularly refined fascist economic arrangement, where the controlling elites have co-opted large portions of the lowly working class.

When we ask ourselves, Where will we attack the enemy state? we are answered, At the productive point. The next logical question is, With whom and what will we attack the fortified entrance of the productive and distributive system in a nation of short-sighted, contented, conservative workers?

Obviously, the fascist movement is counterrevolution at its very center. Fascist reformism is a calculated response to the classic, scientific-socialist approach to revolution through positive mobilization of the working classes. From its inception, the fascist arrangement has attempted to create the illusion of a mass society in which the traditional capitalist ruling class would continue to play its leading role. A mass society that is not a mass society; a mass society of authoritarians whose short-term material interests are perfectly suited to the development of the perfect totalitarian state and centralized economy.

The most precise definitions of fascism involve the concept of "scientific capitalism," or "controlled capitalism," a sophisticated, totalitarian, "learned" response to the challenge of egalitarian, scientific socialism. After its successful establishment in Spain, Portugal, Greece, South Africa and the United

States of America, we are faced with the obvious question of "how to raise a new consciousness."

We are faced with the task of raising a positive mobilization of revolutionary consciousness in a mass that has "gone through" a contra-positive, authoritarian process.

The new vanguard elements seem to agree that withdrawal from the enemy state and its social, political and economic life is the first step toward its destruction. The new vanguard elements seem to agree that the new revolutionary consciousness will develop in the struggles of withdrawal.

However, after this point, agreement grows vague and is all but lost in a sea of contradiction. The contention turns on one primary question — the scope and range of violence within the revolutionary process.

After the lengthy and clearly unnecessary ideological battle that laid to rest a direct approach to revolution by the White or Black worker, we are now faced with an equally unnecessary ideological battle over which of the various communal (revolutionary cultural) approaches has the stronger revolutionary validity.

The problem is compounded by the almost apolitical withdrawal of the growing Weatherman faction, and their estranged allies on campus to organic food gardens and a life of sex, music and drugs. Their Nietzschean-Hegelian withdrawal mimics the European historical experience of the last five generations. In our equation, this must be considered the minor side of the syllogism. Though revolution is in fashion, the realistic, cohesive synergism seems as yet impossibly remote.

On the other side of the equation, we have Huey Newton's concept of Black communes set well within the huge population centers of the enemy state. This concept accepts any level of violence that will be necessary to enforce the demands of the people and workers.

These communes will be tied to one another by a national and international vanguard party and joined with the world's other revolutionary societies. They are the obvious answer to all the theoretical and practical questions and problems about an American revolution — a revolution that will be carried out principally by Blacks.

The question I've asked myself over the years runs this way: Who has done most of the dying? Most of the work? Most of the time in prison (on Max Row)? Who is the hindmost in every aspect of social, political and economic life? Who has the least short-term interest — or no interest at all — in the survival of the present state?

In this condition, how could we believe in the possibility of a new generation of enlightened fascists who would dismantle the basis of their hierarchy?

Just how many Americans are willing to accept the physical destruction of some parts of their fatherland so that the rest of the land and the world might survive in good health? How can the Black industrial worker be induced to carry out a valid worker's revolutionary policy? What and who will guide him? The commune. The central city-wide revolutionary culture.

But who will build the commune that will guide the people into a significant challenge to property rights? Carving out a commune in the central city wil involve claiming certain rights as our own — out front. Rights that have not been respected to now. Property rights. It will involve building a political, social and economic infrastructure, capable of filling the vacuum that has been left by the establishment ruling class and pushing the occupying forces of the enemy culture from our midst.



The BPP Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program.

The implementation of this new social, political and economic program will feed and comfort all the people on at least a subsistence level, and force the "owners" of the enemy bourgeois' culture either to tie their whole fortunes to the communes and the people, or to leave the land, the tools and the market behind. If he will not leave voluntarily, we will expel him — we will use the shotgun and the antitank rocket launcher!!

Who will build on an ideal that begins with force? The vanguard party is now nationwide. But vanguard parties cannot build revolutions. alone. Nor can a vanguard party expect full party-line agreement before it moves in the direction of the people. *Revolution is illegal. It's against the law. It's prohibited. It will not be allowed.*

It is clear that the revolutionary is a lawless man. The outlaw and the lumpen will make the revolution. The people, the workers, will adopt it. This must be the new order of things, after the fact of the modern industrial fascist state.

In Blacks, the authoritarian traits are mainly the effects of terrorism and lack of intellectual stimulation. The communal experience will redeem them.

At present, the Black worker is simply choosing the less dangerous and complicated strategy of survival. All classes and all people are subject to the authoritarian syndrome. It is an atavistic throwback to the herd instincts. But it requires only the proper trauma, the proper eco-sociological set of circumstantial pressures to bring forth a revolutionary consciousness.

Racism enters on the psycho-social level, in the form of a morbid, traditional fear of both Blacks and revolutions. The resentment of Blacks, and conscious or unconscious tendencies to mete out pain to Blacks, throughout the history of America's slave systems, all came into focus when Blacks began the move from South to North and from countryside to city to compete with Whites in industrial sectors, and, in general, engage in status competition. Resentment, fear, insecurity, and the usual isolation that is patterned into every modern capitalist industrial society (the more complex the products, the greater the division of labor; the higher the pyramid, the broader its base and the smaller the individual brick tends to feel) are multiplied by 10 when racism, race antagonism, is also a factor.

There is certainly no lack of evidence to prove the existence of an old and built-in character assassination of programmed racism (what class controls the nation's educational facilities, prints the newspapers and magazines that carry the little cartoons, and omits or misrepresents us to death?) has always served to distract and defuse feelings of status deprivation suffered by the huge sectors just above the Black one.

Then also to account for the seemingly dual nature recognizable in the authoritarian personality (conformity, but also a strange latent destructiveness), racism has always been employed as a pressure release for the psychopathic destructiveness evinced by a people historically processed to fear, to feel the need for a decision-maker, to hate freedom.

The revolutionary is outlawed. The Black revolutionary "is a doomed man." All of the *forces of counterrevolution stack up over his* head. He's standing in the tank-trap he has dug. He lives in the cross hairs. No one can understand the feeling but himself.

"From the beginning" of his revolutionary consciousness he must use every device to stay alive. Violence is a forced issue. It's incumbent on him. The very first political programs have had to be defended with duels to the death. The children's breakfast programs haven't been spared. The next round of commune building could cause the third great war of the century.

We must build with the fingers of one hand wrapped around a gun (an anti-personnel weapon). *We cannot leave the central city.* This must be understood by the other revolutionary people if we are to move together to conclusive action.

The war will be fought in the nerve centers of the nation, the cities where Huey was found hiding and working by the government's propaganda apparatus. In order to complete the revolutionary syllogism, the fascists must be forced to withdraw. And under cover of the guns which force their withdrawal, we will build the new Black communes. A BLADE IN THE THROAT OF FASCISM.□

Huey P. Newton On B.P.P. Survival Programs And Intercommunalism

"WE MUST SURVIVE UNTIL WE CAN TRANSFORM SOCIETY"

The central city commune, described by George Jackson on the two preceding pages, is a means of survival for Black and poor people. Recognizing the need for a framework in which we can live and fight against injustice, the Black Panther Party and Peoples Temple for over a decade have each provided free health, educational and other services for young children, teens, senior citizens, the mentally and physically disabled and other oppressed people.

BPP President Huey P. Newton has explained that these Survival Programs help us to exist until we achieve the "total transformation" of this society that will end our oppression. The transformation, Huey explains, will be brought about by revolutionary intercommunalism, "where the people share all the wealth that they produce and live in one world."

Below are excerpts from Huey's famous Boston College Speech (November 18, 1978) and In Search Of Common Ground, *a series of 1971 conversations between the BPP founder and Yale University psychoanalyst Erik Erikson. In the brief excerpt from the Boston College Speech, Huey describes the purpose of the BPP Survival Programs. In* Common Ground, *he defines the philosophy of intercommunalism, emphasizing that poor people the world over will not be free until we end reactionary intercommunalism — total world domination by the United States.*

A Ten-Point Program is not revolutionary in itself, nor is it reformist. *It is a survival program.* We, the people, are threatened with genocide because racism and fascism are rampant in this country and throughout the world. And the ruling circle in North America is responsible. We intend to change all of that, and in order to change it, there must be a total transformation.

But until we can achieve that total transformation, we must exist. In order to exist we must survive; therefore, we need a survival kit: the Ten-Point Program.

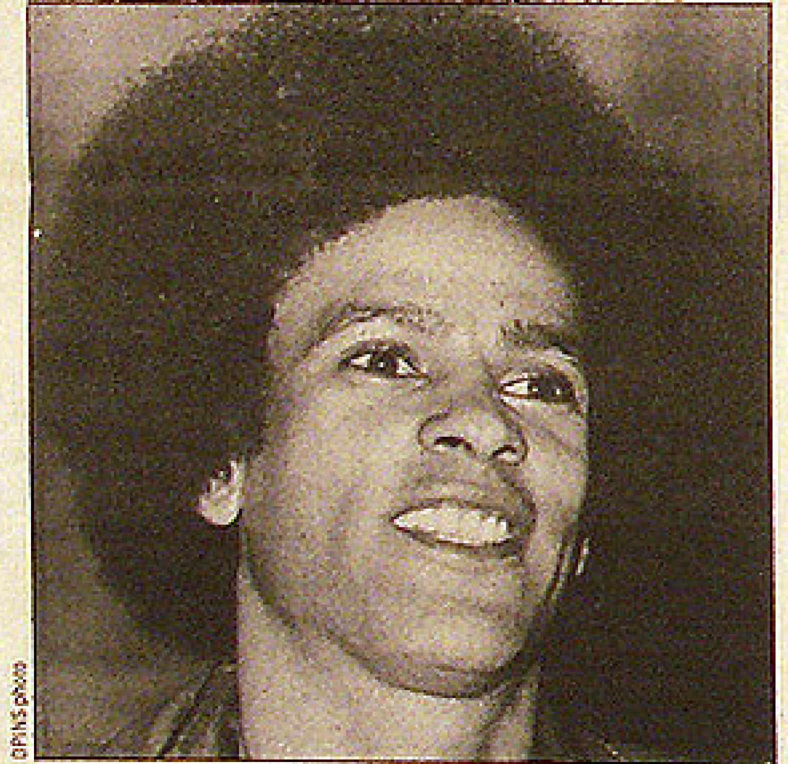
It is necessary for our children to grow up healthy with functional and creative minds. They cannot do this if they do not get the correct nutrition. That is why we have a breakfast program for children. We also have community health programs. We have a busing program. We realize that the fascist regime that operates the prisons throughout America would like to do their treachery in the dark. But if we get the relatives, parents, and friends to the prisons they can expose the treachery of the fascists. This too is a survival program.

We must not regard our survival programs as an answer to the whole problem of oppression. We don't even claim it to be a revolutionary program. Revolutions are made of sterner stuff. We do say that if the people are not here revolution cannot be achieved, for the people and only the people make revolutions.

Our total survival program works very much like the first-aid kit that is used when a plane falls and you find yourself in the middle of the sea on a rubber raft. *You need a few things to last until you can get to the shore, until you can get to that oasis where you can be happy and healthy.* If you do not have the things necessary to get you to that shore, then you will probably not exist.

At this time the ruling circle threatens us to the extent that we are afraid that we might not exist to see the next day or see the revolution. The Black Panther Party will not accept the total destruction of the people. As a matter of fact, we have drawn a line of demarcation and we will no longer tolerate fascism, aggression, brutality, and murder of any kind. We will not sit around and allow ourselves to be murdered.

When we started in October, 1966, we were what one would call Black nationalists. We realized the contradictions in society, the pressure on Black people in particular, and we saw that most people in the past had solved



DPNS photo

BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON.

some of their problems by forming into nations.

We therefore argued that it was rational and logical for us to believe that our sufferings as a people would end when we established a nation of our own, composed of our own people.

But after a while we saw that something was wrong with this resolution of the problem. In the past, nationhood was a fairly easy thing to accomplish. If we look around now, though, we see that the world — the land space, the livable parts as we know them — is pretty well settled. So we realized that to create a new nation we would have to become a dominant faction in this one, and yet the fact that we did not have power was the contradiction that drove us to seek nationhood in the first place.

It is an endless circle, you see: to achieve nationhood, we needed to become a dominant force; but to become a dominant force, we needed to be a nation.

So we made a further analysis and found that in order for us to be a dominant force we would at least have to be great in number. So we developed from just plain nationalists or separatist nationalists into revolutionary nationalists. We said that we joined with all of the other people in the world struggling for decolonialization and nationhood, and called ourselves a "dispersed colony" because we did not have the geographical concentration that other so-called colonies had. But we did have Black communities throughout the country — San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Haven — and there are many similarities between these communities and the traditional kind of colony.

We saw that it was not only beneficial for us to be revolutionary nationalists but to express our solidarity with those friends who suffered many of the same kind of pressures we suffered. Therefore we changed our self-definitions. We said that we are not only revolutionary nationalists — that is, nationalists who want revolutionary changes in everything, including the economic system the oppressor inflicts upon us — but we are also individuals deeply concerned with the other people of the world and their desires for revolution.

In order to show this solidarity, we decided to call ourselves internationalists.

Originally, as I said, we assumed that people could solve a number of their problems by becoming nations, but this conclusion showed our lack of understanding of the world's dialectical development. Our mistake was to assume that the conditions under which people had become nations in the past still existed. To be a nation, one must satisfy certain essential conditions, and if these things do not exist or cannot be created, then it is not possible to be a nation.

In the past, nation-states were usually inhabited by people of a certain ethnic and religious background. They were divided from other people either by a partition of water or a great unoccupied land space. This natural partition gave the nation's dominant class, and the people generally, a certain amount of control over the kinds of political, economic, and social institutions they established. It gave them a certain amount of control over their destiny and their territory. They were secure at least to the extent that they would not be attacked or violated by another nation 10,000 miles away, simply because the means to transport troops that far did not exist.

This situation, however, could not last. Technology developed until there was a definite qualitative transformation in the relationships within and between nations.

We know that you cannot change a part of the whole without changing the whole, and vice versa. As technology developed and there was an increase in military capabilities and means of travel and communication, nations began to control other territories, distant from their own. Usually they controlled these other lands by sending administrators and settlers, who would extract labor from the people or resources from the earth — or both. This is the phenomenon we know as colonialism.

The settlers' control of the seized land and people grew to such an extent that it wasn't even necessary for the settler to be present to maintain the system. He went back home. The people were so integrated with the aggressor that their land didn't look like a colony any longer. But because their land didn't look like a free state either, some theorists started to call these lands "neocolonies."

Arguments about the precise definition of these entities developed. Are they colonies or not? If they aren't, what are they? The theorists knew that something had happened, but they did not know what it was.

Using the dialectical materialist method, we in the Black Panther Party saw that the United States was no longer a nation. It was something else; it was more than a nation. It had not only expanded its territorial boundaries, but it had expanded all of its controls as well. We called it an empire.

Now at one time the world had an empire in which the conditions of rule were different — the Roman Empire. The difference between the Roman and the American empires is that other nations were able to exist external to and independent of the Roman Empire because of their means of exploration, conquest, and control were all relatively limited.

But when we say "empire" today, we mean precisely what we say. An empire is a nation-state that has transformed itself into a power controlling *all* the world's lands and people.

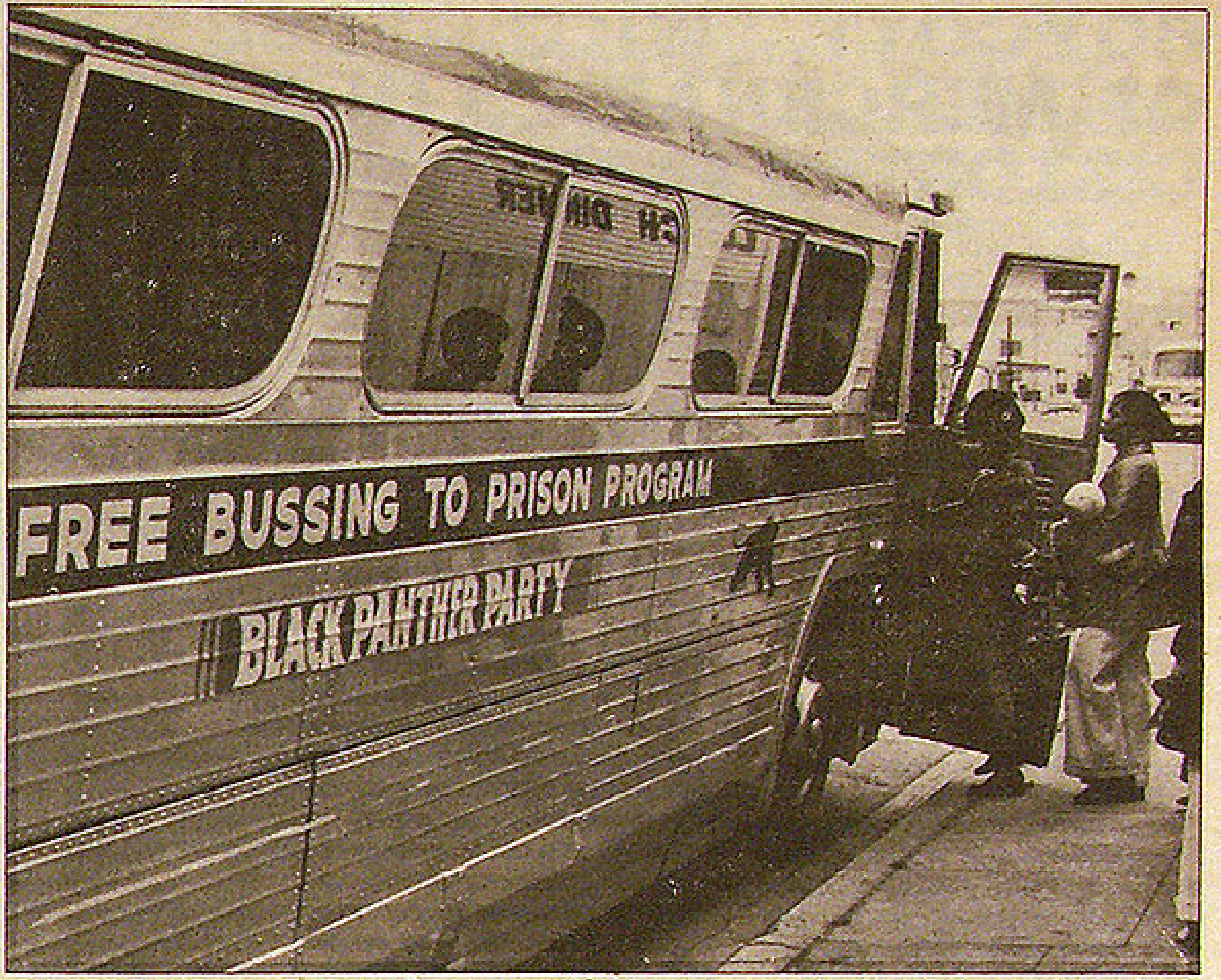
We believe that there are no more colonies or neocolonies. If a people is colonized, it must be possible for them to decolonize and become what they formerly were. But what happens when the raw materials are extracted and labor is exploited within a territory dispersed over the entire globe? When the riches of the whole earth are depleted and used to feed a gigantic industrial machine in the imperialist's home? Then the people and the economy are so integrated into the imperialist empire that it's impossible to "decolonize," to return to the former conditions of existence.

If colonies cannot "decolonize" and return to their original existence as nations, then nations no longer exist. Nor, we believe, will they ever exist again. And since there must be nations for revolutionary nationalism or internationalism to make sense, we decided that we would have to call ourselves something new.

We say that the world today is a dispersed collection of communities. A community is different from a nation. A community is a small unit with a comprehensive collection of institutions that exist to serve a small group of people.

And we say further that the struggle in the world today is between the small circle that administers and profits from the empire of the United States, and the peoples of the world who want to determine their own destinies.

We call this situation intercommunalism. We are now in the age of reactionary intercommunalism, in which a ruling circle, a small group of people, control all other people by using their technology.



The BPP Free Busing To Prison Program provides free transportation for relatives and friends of inmates to visit their loved ones.

At the same time, we say that this technology can solve most of the material contradictions people face, that the material conditions exist that would allow the people of the world to develop a culture that is essentially human and would nurture those things that would allow the people to resolve contradictions in a way that would not cause the mutual slaughter of all of us. The development of such a culture would be revolutionary intercommunalism.

The people of the world must seize power from the small ruling circle and expropriate the expropriators, pull them down from their pinnacle and make them equals, and distribute the fruits of our labor that have been denied us in some equitable way. We know that the machinery to accomplish these tasks exists and we want access to it.

Imperialism has laid the foundation for world communism, and imperialism itself has grown to the point of reactionary intercommunalism because the world is now integrated into one community. The communications revolution, combined with the expansive domination of the American empire, has created the "global village." The peoples of all cultures are under seige by the same forces and they all have access to the same technologies.

There are only differences in degree between what's happening to the Blacks here and what's happening to all of the people in the world, including Africans. Their needs are the same and their energy is the same. And the contradictions they suffer will only be resolved when the people establish a revolutionary intercommunalism where they share all the wealth that they produce and live in one world.

We call Blacks and Third World people in particular, and poor people in general, "unemployables" because they do not have the skills needed to work in a highly developed technological society.

You remember my saying that every society, like every age, contains its opposite: feudalism produced capitalism, which wiped out feudalism, and capitalism produced socialism, which will wipe out capitalism. Now the same is true of reactionary intercommunalism. Technological development creates a large middle class, and the number of workers increases also. The workers are paid a good deal and get many comforts.

But the ruling class is still only interested in itself. They might make certain compromises and give a little — as a matter of fact, the ruling circle has even developed something of a social structure or welfare state to keep the opposition down — but as technology develops, the need for workers decreases.

It has been estimated that 10 years from now only a small percentage of the present work force will be necessary to run the industries. Then what will happen to your worker who is now making four dollars an hour? The working class will be narrowed down, the class of unemployables will grow because it will take more and more skills to operate those machines and fewer people.

And as these people become unemployables, they will become more and more alienated; even socialist compromises will not be enough. You will then find an integration between, say, the Black unemployable and the White racist hard hat who is not regularly employed and mad at the Blacks who he thinks threaten his job.

We hope that he will join forces with those people who are already unemployable, but whether he does or not, his material existence will have changed. The proletarian will become the lumpen proletarian. It is this future change — the increase of the lumpen proletariat and the decrease of the proletariat — which makes us say that the lumpen proletariat is the majority and carries the revolutionary banner. □

BOYCOTT "WILD GEESE": ROLE OF MERCENARIES IN AFRICA DISTORTED

(Oakland, Calif.) - A decade ago, the U.S. military establishment and the motion picture industry teamed up to produce *Green Berets*, a film that deliberately distorted the situation in Southeast Asia in order to drum up the American people's support for the escalation of this country's illegal intervention in Vietnam.

In their latest effort, *Wild Geese*, the Pentagon and Hollywood have produced another piece of vicious war propaganda, this time to glorify and justify the role of White mercenaries fighting against the freedom forces in Africa.

The locale may have changed, but the message of *Wild Geese* is the same as that of *Green Berets*: the Western powers, led by the U.S., are preparing to step up their involvement in Third World countries where their economic and political interests are threatened.

Wild Geese opened recently around the world amidst a huge promotional campaign highlighted by ads and posters showing White mercenaries, machine guns in hand, against a backdrop silhouette of the African continent.

Proceeds from the grand opening of the film in South Africa were donated to the armed forces of the White minority regime.

Destroying whatever might have been his accomplishments during his long, widely-acclaimed acting career, Richard Burton



Considering him to be a "good African," a White South African mercenary, portrayed by HARDY KRUGER, carries the ailing African president, played by WINSTON NTSHONA, on his back.

portrays the ace mercenary colonel, a character apparently based on Colonel Mike Hoare, the infamous South African mercenary dubbed "Mad Mike" by his men.

Hoare, who served as technical advisor on the film, is presently away from his home in South Africa, traveling in the U.S. to promote the movie.

With the backing of the CIA, Hoard led an army of South African, Rhodesian and Belgian mercenaries against the progressive government of Patrice Lumumba in 1960 in order to secure the neocolonial status of the copper-rich Congo. Lumumba, who was shot and killed by the CIA-mercenary-backed forces of Moise Tshombe, became the first Black premier of the Congo (now Zaire) in 1960, when the country became independent of Belgium.

Hoare has also battled liberation forces in Rhodesia, Namibia and Angola in the service of the racist regimes there.

The movie's plot deals with a high-level double-cross involving control of the rich copper mines in Zembala, an independent Central African country.

A British corporation head calls in Burton to rescue the country's president, Limbani, whom everyone thinks has been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

S.W.A.P.O., Z.A.N.U. Leaders Address Bay Area Rally

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Leaders of the armed liberation struggle in southern Africa, Theo Ben-Gurirab, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) representative to the United Nations, and Edgar Tekere, secretary general of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), were the featured speakers at a highly successful November "Freedom in Southern Africa" solidarity march and rally here.

Gurirab praised the "dedicated, progressive people who see a direct linkage between the struggle that is going on in southern Africa and some of the problems that the American people, minorities and oppressed people experience in this country...and are bold enough to let the United States government, multinational corporations, Pentagon, CIA and FBI know that they do not represent all of the American people."

Some 750 demonstrators from throughout the Bay Area and Sacramento participated in the rally sponsored by the Bay Area Southern Africa Coalition (BASAC).

After assembling at Golden Gate Park, the enthusiastic, placard-waving protesters, led by Gurirab, who was followed by a contingent from the Black Panther Party, marched through the Haight-Ashbury and Fillmore districts loudly chanting numerous slogans in support of the armed struggle in southern Africa.

After arriving at the site of the rally, Glide Memorial Church in downtown San Francisco, the protesters heard speeches by several speakers, including Bill Wahpepah, a leading member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), Judge William Booth and Prexy Nesbitt, both of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), and Steve Talbot, editor of the progressive weekly *Internews* who represented BASAC.

Cultural presentations were also made by the Wajumbe African Dancers and Black poetess Ahimsa Sumchai.

In addition to showing support for the independence of Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), the demonstration was called to protest:

•U.S. banks loans totalling

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

U.S. Seeks Co-optation Of People's China PART 1

(Peking, People's Republic of China) - A 1972 essay by Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton entitled, "The Technology Question," gives some far-reaching insight into the situation in People's China since the death of its great revolutionary leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

"If we acknowledge the U.S. rulers as the prime oppressors not only of America's internal masses but also the world's people, then we must decipher carefully what it is that allows for this world dominion," wrote the BPP chief theoretician. "...It becomes clear, to one who is not shackled by archaic thinking, even when it is disguised as Marxist-Leninist thought, that we are faced with a technology question, that the crucial issue of our time is control of technology...

"The situation in the First Workers State (the Soviet Union)," Huey said, "provides the best example of a struggle for sovereign territory deteriorated into a struggle to accommodate the needs and desire of the people with concessions to U.S. technology, its might, and the infiltration, thereby of imperialist ideology....

"Now, it seems that even the Second Workers State (China) is threatened, also..."

The November 27 issue of *Time* magazine approvingly declared, "In pursuit of modernization, China is now willing to accept the aid of the capitalist West..."

Recently, "the Chinese negotiated a series of deals with the Western world that would have been inconceivable under Mao."

"At the (November) Canton Trade Fair, Peking's main foreign trade showcase," the *Time* article continued, "the Chinese sold approximately one billion dollars in goods to foreign countries, while their purchases amounted to about $600 million.

"According to the National Council for U.S.-China Trade (NCUSCT), American businessmen sold the Chinese some $83 million in commodities...and bought $62 million worth... doubling the previous record of $75 million at the fair last year," the article said.

The U.S. will probably sell the Chinese $700 million worth of products in all this year.

The NCUSCT predicts that the Chinese will buy more than $40 billion worth of Western technology by 1985.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

U.S. Co-opts People's China

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

"The principal architect of this new policy," the *Time* article said, "is (Chinese Vice Premier) Teng, who has clearly emerged as China's strongman, overshadowing Mao's titular successor as chairman, Hua Kuo-feng. Teng has given supreme priority to reversing the disruptive effects of Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was zealously pursued for more than 10 years by Mao's wife, Chiang Ch'ing, and her radical colleagues.

"Twice toppled from power by the radicals, in 1966 and 1976, Teng has stepped from the political shadows, not only to supervise the disgracing of Chiang's 'Gang of Four,' but to see his pragmatic goals adopted as the party's approved road."

Shortly after Mao's death, the current Chinese leadership embarked on a countrywide campaign to discredit the so-called Gang of Four. In addition to Ching, Chang Chunciao, senior deputy prime minister and head of the general political department of the army, Wang Hungwen, the youthful vice premier, and Yao Wen-yung, director of China's central media, were arrested on October 7, 1976, after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee selected Hua as the new chairman.

The radicals rose to prominence during the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960's. Denouncing bureaucrats and conservatives as following the "capitalist road," the leftists had raised the cries of ideological struggle which led Mao to oust the moderate Teng shortly before his death.

The radical leadership, in opposition to the present leadership, argued that overemphasis on foreign trade as a means of financing China's economic development would reduce the country to a "capitalist colony."

The first Congress of the CCP after the death of Mao elected a new ruling Politburo which contrasted sharply with the previous group elected in 1973. The 26-member Politburo contained not a single representative from the groups Mao had sought to promote during the Cultural Revolution — youth, women, workers and poor peasants.

In fact, at least five of the Politburo members suffered some kind of forced retirement during the Cultural Revolution, when the youthful Red Guard, which was formally abolished in October, 1978, inspired by Mao, attacked veteran officials as too entrenched and too privileged. Several members of the new Central Committee were also targets of the Red Guard campaign.

TO BE CONTINUED



Late Chinese Communist Party Chairman MAO TSE-TUNG.

Nixon Announces Return To Public Life

(Paris, France) - Former President Richard Nixon, during a late November appearance on a three-hour French television show here, announced that he will become active in political affairs again.

Answering a wide spectrum of questions from callers who seemed favorable to him, Nixon leaned heavily on his foreign policy record, especially his trip to the People's Republic of China. When questioned about the Watergate coverup, Nixon claimed that any false statements he made were due to "misinformation" given him by his staff.

Also-while in Paris, Nixon met with General Alexander Haig, Nixon's chief aide at the time of his resignation over the Watergate scandal and now the supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Haig, who may enter U.S. electoral politics at the end of next year, said that the former President was extremely interested in the security of U.S. and NATO armed forces in Europe.

WORLD PERSPECTIVE

Draft To Be Revived?

(Washington, D.C.) - The Joint Chiefs of Staff recently announced that they have recommended the revival of draft registration to U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown. The Joint Chiefs have long favored classifying men between the ages of 18 and 26 so that they could be inducted into the armed services quickly in case of U.S. military mobilization. This concern for revival of the draft comes at a time when many fear the U.S. government may militarily intervene in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

Reagan Campaigns For President

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Ronald Reagan, the arch-conservative former governor of California, has begun to build his national campaign machine for the 1980 Presidential election. During recent elections this year, Reagan campaigned hard for Republican candidates in 26 states in an attempt to capture the 1980 Republican Presidential nomination. The structure of the Citizens Committee for Reagan has already been developed and fundraising will soon start to build Reagan's "war chest" for the 1980 campaign.

Nicaraguan Guerrillas Attack

(Managua, Nicaragua) - Following the passing of the November 21 deadline for Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza's resignation, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) guerrillas have launched attacks from the border of the Honduras and Costa Rica. The Organization of American States (OAS), which is U.S.-dominated, had attempted to mediate a peaceful settlement, but Somoza rejected the proposal because it called for his immediate resignation. In solidarity with the Nicaraguan liberation struggle, the governments of Cuba, Panama and Venezuela are offering material support to the FSLN.

Tanzania, Uganda Continue Fight

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania)- Uganda, which invaded Tanzania a month ago, charged in late November that Tanzanian troops were sweeping across the border. The Tanzanian government dismissed the charges as "a new lie" by Idi Amin. A statement issued by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere's office said the Ugandan claim is a "smokescreen" intended to cover up Ugandan preparations for a new invasion of Tanzania. Tanzanian Prime Minister Edward Sokoine has charged that Amin is acting as an agent of the White racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa by invading Tanzania so that all five frontline states are under attack.

Ethiopia Gains In Eritrea

(Nairobi, Kenya) - The Ethiopian government announced recently that its military forces had recaptured Massawa, a major seaport held by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). Faced with a massive Ethiopian troop build-up, the EPLF carried out a tactical withdrawal from Massawa and Asmara, another major EPLF stronghold. Ethiopian Ambassador to Kenya Mengiste Desta claimed that the backbone of the 17-year Eritrean guerrilla war has been broken, but other sources say that the EPLF and the Eritrean Liberation Front are preparing to wage a protracted peoples war until victory.

Diggs To Appeal

(Washington, D.C.) - Michigan Black Congressman Charles Diggs will appeal his recent three-year prison sentence for his conviction on trumped-up mail fraud charges. Lawyers representing Diggs maintain that the 81 per cent landslide re-election vote the Congressman received should be sufficient grounds for probation or a suspended sentence.

Indian Leader Arrested

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Dennis Banks, American Indian leader, was arrested recently when he arrived at San Francisco airport, but was released two hours later because he could not be extradited on a South Dakota warrant. The three-year-old warrant was issued by Custer County, South Dakota, authorities for a trumped-up conviction on rioting and assault charges. When San Francisco law enforcement authorities contacted Custer County officials they were told that extradition was impossible because California Governor Edmund Brown has refused to extradite Banks

S.W.A.P.O., Z.A.N.U. Leaders At Bay Area Rally

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

nearly three billion dollars to South Africa;

•U.S. weapons used by the Rhodesian army against freedom fighters;

•$1.8 billion invested by some 400 American corporations in South Africa;

•Tacit U.S. support for American mercenaries joining Rhodesian army;

•South Africa's rejection of United Nations independence plan for Namibia, backed by the United States' refusal to support African demands for economic boycott of South Africa;

•Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith's visit to U.S.

In his speech, Talbot called for an all-out boycott of the motion picture *Wild Geese*, which glorifies U.S. mercenaries fighting in Africa.

In conjunction with the rally, in mid-November the Stop Banking on Apartheid coalition, part of a nationwide campaign to end U.S. bank loans to South Africa, leafleted about 500 branches of Bank of America in the Bay Area.

In concluding his speech, Gurirab noted that the Patrotic Front, an alliance of ZANU and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which is leading the armed strugle in Rhodesian, "has already liberated more than 85 per cent of the country." The SWAPO official urged progressive Americans "to give the required support and assistance to the Front...to make it 100 per cent!"









Speakers at the recent Bay Area Southern African solidarity rally and march (bottom right) included BEN-GURIRAB of SWAPO, Judge WILLIAM BOOTH and EDGAR TEKERE of ZANU.

BPINS photos

The presentation by Tekere, which, like Gurirab's, was welcomed by a tumultuous standing ovation and frequently interrupted by applause, was entitled, "The Evolution of the Revolution."

Tekere described the period "during the end of the last century, when our forefathers in Zimbabwe resisted settlerhood... with force of arms...Through this round we are going on to final victory."

Tekere attacked "the American administration (for) entertaining Ian Smith here and then coming back to them and saying, 'Smith has said that he now agrees to talk peace.' " He said that the Anglo-American peace initiative "is an effort most of the time to deprive us of proper victory and proper independence for Zimbabwe."□

Boycott "Wild Geese:" Role of Mercenaries In Africa Distorted

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

dead for years, but actually has been imprisoned by the current government. The new government, however, refuses to allow the Briton to exploit the country's copper mines, and in retaliation, he decides to reinstate the "legitimate" president, a national "hero" and the one "honest politician" around.

The double cross occurs when the British businessman forces the Zembala government to give him control of the copper mines. The 49 mercenaries, who have carried out their mission and freed Limbani from prison, are left to die at the hands of government troops. At least this part of the film is true to life. The forces of oppression think nothing of betraying each other.

The first part of the film — as Burton tries to round up his key men for the operation — is meant to establish the motivation of "soldiers of fortune," or "wild geese," a term first applied to thousands of Irish mercenaries in the 18th century.

One of the most blatantly racist scenes in the movies occurs in an unbelievable exchange of dialogue between a White South African mercenary, performed by Hardy Kruger, and President Limbani, played by Black South African actor Winston Ntshona, after the latter has been rescued and, near death, must be carried on Kruger's back as the group tries to escape the fast-approaching government troops.

In the space of a few seconds, the avowed, hard-core racist Kruger, after listening to a melodramatic plea for racial harmony by the sellout Limbani, changes his sympathies toward Blacks.

Particularly shameful is the appearance of Ntshona and John Kani, as the Black mercenary. Both Black South African actors won wide acclaim in this country for their theatrical performances in *Sizwe Banzi Is Dead* and *The Island*, plays about the oppression of Blacks in South Africa.

Wild Geese would have us believe that mercenaries are men of principles, instead of the cold-blooded killers that have murdered Black men, women and children in the Congo, Angola, Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa. In one scene, we see Richard Harris, the military strategist for the mercenary band, upset because the Zembala campaign will force him to miss spending the Christmas holidays with his young son. Ten minutes later, Harris is unemotionally shooting down African soldiers.

Perhaps the greatest insult to the viewers' intelligence is that we are expected to believe that some 35 White men (the mercenaries suffer some casualties) can outshoot and outkill 500 Black men and escape to tell the tale.

THE BLACK PANTHER calls for a nationwide boycott of *Wild Geese*. Black Americans, Africans and other Third World people must protest the glorification of mercenary activity in Africa and the thinly veiled attempt to indoctrinate the American people to accept the upcoming intervention of U.S. troops to block the freedom struggles in southern Africa.□

S. African Blacks Banned

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Six leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) have been released from detention but have received five-year banning orders from the White apartheid regime. The six, including two members of the Committee of 10, Soweto's leadership group, had been detained over a year for political organizing. The banning order, a tool to harass and intimidate predominantly Black South African activists, prohibits a person from attending any kind of gathering or from leaving the area he or she is restricted to.

The F.B.I. Plot Against Black Leaders

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

on backgrounds of group leaders for use aginst them.

The NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Black Panther Party, (BPP), Nation of Islam and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), to name a few key organizations, became victims of unrestrained and intimidating harassment by the FBI in league with local police, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Defense Intelligence Agency, Internal Revenue Service (IRS), National Security Agency, Secret Service, Army Intelligence and several divisions of the Justice Department.

The FBI program under which covert activities were coordinated and executed was called COINTELPRO, an acronym for "counterintelligence program." COINTELPRO was originally instituted in 1956 for the purpose of wrecking the Communist Party in the United States and any organization that supported the "violent overthrow" of the government.

It later came to include the New Left, the Socialist Workers Party and what the Bureau termed "White hate groups" and "Black extremists."

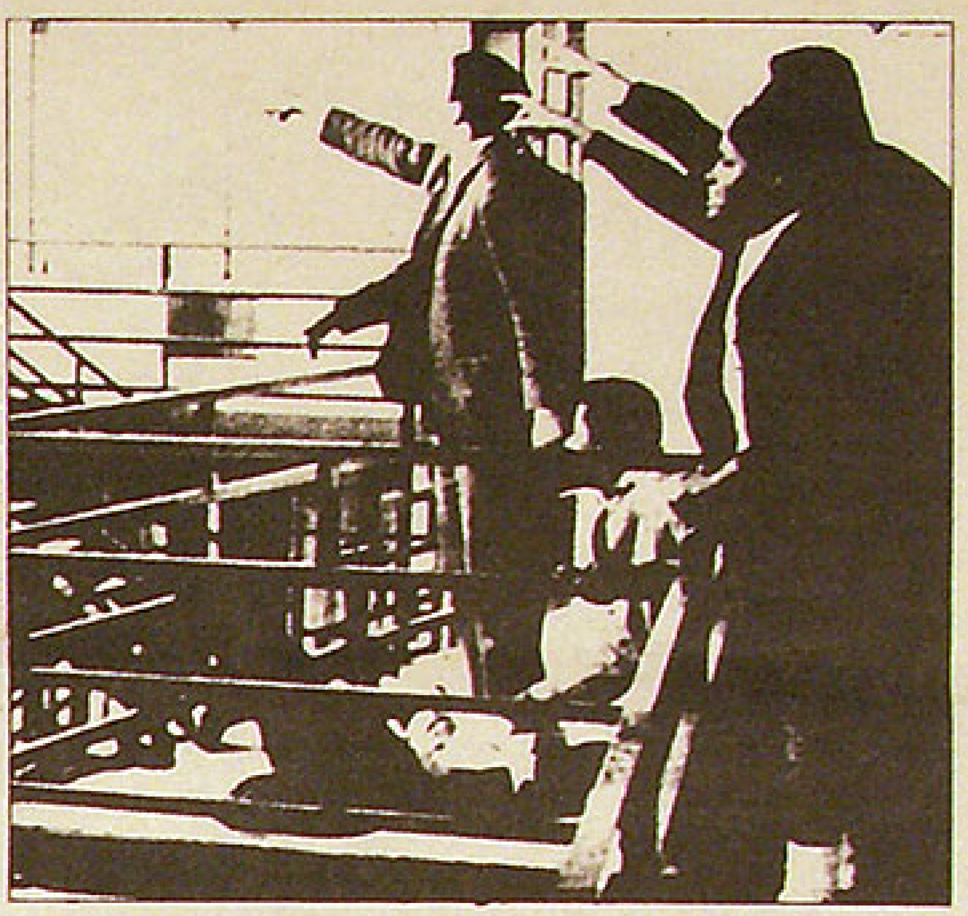
FIELD DIVISIONS

The 41 field divisions of the COINTELPRO against Black organizations covered major cities in the United States. Over 2,300 known proposals for disruptive activities were approved by the Bureau and implemented from the time of the program's inception to 1971 when FBI files were stolen from the Media, Pennsylvania office and exposed to the press. After much public outcry, in 1975 the 94th Congress passed a resolution establishing a Senate Select Committee on Intelligence to conduct an investigation into intelligence activities of the federal government. That committee submitted a final report in April, 1976.

Significantly, COINTELPRO actions coincided with specific national events. The FBI Black nationalist COINTELPRO began in the wake of the bloody Newark and Detroit rebellion of 1967, which left those cities smoldering, thousands injured and over 85 dead.

COINTELPRO tactics included publicizing derogatory information gained from illegal surveillance for the purpose of *damaging an individual's personal image;* surreptitiously supplying information on a person's political belief to his or her employer in order to get the employer to fire the person; provoking warfare between rival groups; falsely and anonymously labeling members of targeted groups as informants in order to cause expulsion or physical attack; disseminating deliberate misinformation on a group or individual; and sending anonymous letters to the spouses of targeted individuals in deliberate attempts to break up their marriages.

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. lies on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel as his aides point in the direction from which he was shot.



An intensive campaign was directed against the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Bureau went to extraordinary lengths to eliminate King from his leadership role, conspiring to promote their own national leader and going so far as to research and identify such an individual.

King vigorously promoted nonviolent protest as the vehicle to freedom and dignity for Black America. The civil rights movement, which concentrated on securing voting rights and on the desegregation of schools and public facilities, met with lynchings, mass arrests, burnings and bombings.

Nevertheless, the nonviolent movement flourished by the mid-sixties, becoming a powerful political force that united a broad cross section of Blacks.

For this reason the FBI regarded King as the most effective leader in the country — and therefore the most dangerous. They theorized that "a man who supports nonviolence ought to be destroyed because someday he may abandon nonviolence and emerge as a Black Messiah."

Over 5,000 telephone conversations were monitored during this period and involved phone taps on King's home, the SCLC offices in Atlanta and New York and hotels all over the country where he stayed.

According to a former FBI agent assigned to the security squad that conducted the electronic surveillance of King, "The surveillance was massive and complete. He couldn't wiggle. They had him."

Asked the purpose of the taps, the former agent said it was "in order to get information and destroy the civil rights leader and silence his criticism of the bureau."

A nine-hour meeting took place at FBI headquarters in December, 1963 in order to explore every possibility of spying upon and intimidating King. A total of 21 different ideas were presented in a document entitled "Questions to be Explored at Conference."

W.C. Sullivan, late counterintelligence chief, distributed a memo for Hoover's information on January 8, 1964, that recommended King be taken "off his pedestal" and reduced "completely in influence."

CONFUSION

This done, Sullivan continued, "obviously confusion will reign, particularly among the Negro people...The Negroes will be left without a national leader of sufficiently compelling personality to steer them in the proper direction."

•In response to a memo from FBI agent Charles Brennan to Sullivan on March 8, 1967, a newspaper article was disseminated to "friendly" media sources critical of King's anti-Vietnam War position, which he had begun to enunciate more frequently in public. The article's purpose was to depict King as a "traitor to his country and his race."

On March 29, 1968, the FBI tried to discredit King through the press by insinuating that staying at a plush White hotel, instead of the Lorraine, where he was assassinated on April 4, 1968, was an act of hypocrisy. Reports appeared in local papers.

TO BE CONTINUED

Researcher Charges

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

charges made by relatives of Jonestown residents that their families were allegedly being held against their will in the rich agricultural commune.

At a November 22 press conference in San Francisco, Temple attorney Charles Garry, who was with Ryan's party at Jonestown, said that the California congressman told Jones that it didn't matter if "400 people wanted to leave. You (Jones) are doing beautiful work, and I am going to tell everyone."

Ryan said this *after* he was attacked with a knife by a Temple member whom many people now believe was an undercover agent.

Minutes later Ryan was shot and killed on the Kaituma airstrip near Jonestown.

First word of the Jonestown tragedy received by the American people from the press was that there had been "mass suicide" at the Guyana settlement. Through such news sources as *UPI* and *A.P.*, the country was bombarded with stories that Jim Jones had gone crazy and, due to his fear that Jonestown would be destroyed because of Ryan's investigation, he had led Temple members into sipping Kool-Aid "laced with cyanide."

News "analysts" such as Patrick Buchanan described Peoples Temple as "a bunch of crazies," "hard core revolutionaries" and a "highly secretive cult."

The press reserved most of its venom for Jim Jones. He has been described as a "deranged dictator," "bisexual," a "suicidal fanatic" and a "devious Marxist." One newspaper article about the Temple founder had the headline, "Death, Sex, and Power."

Jones was found shot to death in the head, along with his wife Marceline. Two women who had responsibility for the organization's finances were also found shot to death. The fact that the other over 900 people allegedly died from poisoning has been of little concern to the media. Since there are no known living witnesses to the shootings, the press has promoted the belief that the four people committed suicide.

Given the growing widespread belief that the Jonestown massacre was carried out by the CIA, there is the strong possibility that some ex-Temple members and Jonestown survivors, with their tales of false healings performed by Jones, may be agents or may have been threatened into lying about what really happened. □

"WE HAVE TASTED TOTAL EQUALITY"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

nursery through high school.

One visitor to Jonestown said of the school:

"The school system that has been set up by the people of Jonestown is a very advanced school system. I spent a great deal of time talking to the children there, and was astonished at the high level of understanding and their knowledge of not only what was happening in this country (U.S.) but also in Africa and Asia."

Temple attorney Charles Garry visited Jonestown in November, 1977, and was overwhelmed at the success of the society built by Peoples Temple.

"I have been in paradise," Garry said. "I saw a community where there is no such thing as racism. No one sees the color of his skin, whether he is Black, Brown, Yellow, Red or White.

"I also saw that no one thinks in terms of sex, no one feels superior to anyone else. I don't know any community in the world today that has been able to solve the problems of male sex supremacy. That does not exist in Jonestown."

Noted researcher Donald Freed visited Jonestown this past September. "I'm at pains," Freed said, "to find the words to describe what is essentially an unspeakable experience, but I have no doubt it will spoken about and written about widely, and there will be a steady traffic through Georgetown, on the way to Jonestown, in the years to come.

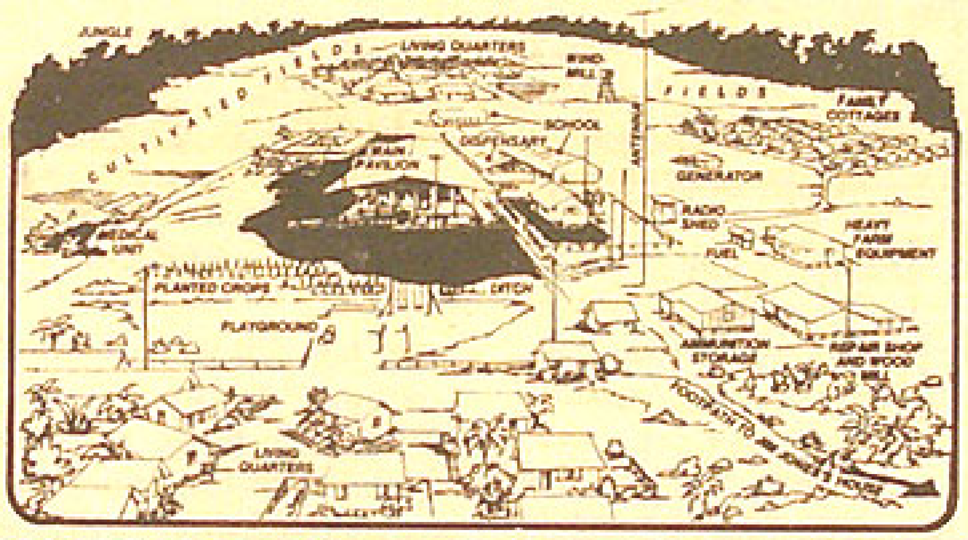
"When you look at Jonestown, this burgeoning plan of buildings and agricultural and semi-industrial patterns of growth...you're driven to the conclusion that the most extraordinary material and social experiment is being carried out basically by a population a large percentage of which, in the United States, were not considered useful.

"Either they were too old, too young, too unskilled, uneducated, with burdensome personal records, either of addiction or health problems, or incarceration in state or federal prison.

"When I came to Jonestown, I knew I was entering a superior society. It is like coming to another planet."□



Jonestown residents work the rich farmland on the 27,000-acre Guyana settlement.



"Jonestown is a superior society. It is like coming to another planet."

"ALL MY THOUGHTS ARE COMING FROM THE C.I.A."

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

to the Vacaville superintendent, was in "whether drugs could be used in questioning people or gaining their cooperation."

In an investigative study called *"The Society of Mindless Men,"* Walter Bowart, who is also the author of *Operation Mind Control,"* relates an account of Luis Angel Castillo. On March 2, 1967, 24-year-old Castillo was arrested by the Philippine National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) on suspicion of conspiring to assassinate dictator Fernando Marcos in Manila, capital city of the Philippines.

In a series of interrogation sessions, the NBI and Philippine Army investigators used sodium amytal (also on the CIA list of mind control drugs) to put Castillo under hypnosis. During one of these sessions, he revealed that he had been involved in an assassination attempt in 1963 in Dallas, Texas.

Under hypnosis, Castillo remembered that he did not have to shoot that day. His target had already been "hit" by the time the car passed his point of ambush, a warehouse on the far side of the railroad overpass near Dealy Plaza.

The man Castillo was supposed to assassinate was President John F. Kennedy.

A hypnotist described in detail the discovery that Castillo's mind was "programmed."

During one session, the hypnotist tried using "Luis Castillo" as a command code. The hypnotist reported that "a pathetic sight takes place after this. The subject turns the pistol to his own temple and squeezes the trigger as many times as his name is repeated."

SHOT TO DEATH

Jim Jones was found shot to death in the head. Skolnick suggested that the words, "Mother, Mother, Mother," which Garry said Jones uttered before the mass deaths took place, may have been code-words that triggered a self-destruct impulse or suggestion in the Temple leader's mind.

When Garry visited Jonestown in September, he told Jones, "Jim, you have a beautiful program. In my opinion, you've got paradise working here."

Why would over 900 people willfully destroy their own paradise?□

Right-Wing

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

made District 8 "a place where gays feared to tread."

According to Hinckle, Milk said, "I told the mayor that if he appointed anyone other than Dan White he should appoint a woman...The board must be concerned with neighborhoods, and Dan has come to speak more for downtown interests."

But perhaps the most revealing thing that Milk told Hinckle was his outlook on the immediate political future of San Francisco.

"Within five years the ethnic minorities, women and gays will have the strongest influence — if not control — in city government," Milk said.

There is already talk that the Moscone, Milk assassinations may have been a part of a right-wing conspiracy to prevent Milk's prediction from coming true.

Peoples Temple had scheduled December 2 for a benefit for its medical program at Jonestown. Milk was one of the endorsers of the benefit.

Meanwhile, the Bay Area press is attempting to build up public sympathy for White. A *San Francisco Examiner* headline appearing the day after the city hall assassinations read, "Ex-Cop was 'A Casualty of Pressure.'"

The article under the headline began, "Former San Francisco Supervisor Dan White sat in jail crying. 'I think everybody has a breaking point,' said Supervisor Lee Dolson, who visited White in his cell last night, 'and if indeed, as it looks, there was a breaking point for Dan, I can understand it.'"

Local newspapers, in particular, are portraying White as a "good guy' who "just lost his head for a minute." A *San Francisco Chronicle* article quoted a former fellow firefighter of White as saying that the accused murderer was "an extremely moral individual."

White was slated to receive a medal for saving two people from dying in a fire in 1977, and the city's fire chief announced that White would still receive the honor.

White is said to have told police officers that he "must" have killed Moscone and Milk although he "thinks" he may have blacked out for awhile. His story is strangely similar to that of a man arrested in 1967 who revealed that he was one of the hired assassins of President John F. Kennedy. *He could only remember his participation under hypnosis."*□